

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 (ISO) R

DRAFTED BY: INR:HHSAUNDERS
APPROVED BY: THE ACTING SECRETARY
NEA:MR. VELIOTES
IO:GBHELMAN
S/S-O:THYDEN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 002076

NODIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PEPR, EG, IS, XF

SUBJECT:UN PARTICIPATION IN JERUSALEM POLITICAL COMMITTEE

1. GUYER AND URQUHART CALLED SAUNDERS AT NOON TO DESCRIBE THE STATUS OF WALDHEIM'S RESPONSE TO EGYPT'S FORMAL INVITATION THAT HE ATTEND THE OPENING OF THE JERUSALEM POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS. THE UN SECRETARIAT HAS RECEIVED TWO APPROACHES FROM THE EGYPTIAN REPRESENTATIVE--FIRST FOR THE SYG HIMSELF TO PARTICIPATE IN THE OPENING OF THE JERUSALEM MEETINGS AND SECOND, AFTER SYG DECLINED, THAT SYG BE REPRESENTED AT THE MEETINGS.

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PAGE 02 STATE 002076

2. SYG'S POSITION, CONVEYED TO GUYER AND URQUHART FROM WALDHEIM IN AUSTRIA, IS AS FOLLOWS: IT WAS MANAGEABLE TO SEND A UN REPRESENTATIVE TO THE PLENARY SESSIONS IN CAIRO, BUT NOW THAT THE CONFERENCE HAS BROKEN DOWN INTO GROUPS IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE FOR SYG HIMSELF TO BE PRESENT. IN RESPONSE TO REQUEST THAT HE SEND A REPRESENTATIVE, HE HAS TAKEN THE POSITION THAT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO

BE REPRESENTED.

3. GUYER AND URQUHART EXPLAINED SYG'S REASONING AS FOLLOWS: HE WOULD HAVE TO GO TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO ASK FOR AGREEMENT OR GUIDANCE ON HIS BEING REPRESENTED. SOME MEMBERS HAVE PRIVATELY CONTESTED STRONGLY IN OFFICIAL

NOTES HIS SENDING A REPRESENTATIVE TO THE CAIRO MEETINGS, BUT HE SEEMS TO HAVE GOTTEN OVER THAT HURDLE WITHOUT OPEN PROTEST. IF HE WERE NOW TO BE REPRESENTED IN THIS NEW ROUND OF MEETINGS, HE WOULD RISK AN OPEN REQUEST FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING WHERE UN PARTICIPATION WOULD BE CALLED INTO QUESTION. IN THE VIEW OF URQUHART AND GUYER IT WOULD BE BAD BOTH FOR THE UN AND FOR THE JERUSALEM TALKS TO HAVE A DONNYBROOK GOING ON IN NEW YORK WHILE TALKS WERE OPENING IN JERUSALEM. AS THEY PUT IT, THE UN COVER WOULD NOT BE MUCH GOOD IF IT WERE BEING RIPPED APART AT THE TOP IN NEW YORK. THEY CONTRASTED PARTICIPATION IN THE CURRENT SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH PARTICIPATION IN THE OPENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS IN 1973 AND FOLLOWING, WHEN SYG HAD SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVAL TO PARTICIPATE.

4. PRINCIPAL CONCERN OF URQUHART AND GUYER AT THIS POINT IS HOW TO GET ACROSS TO EGYPTIANS THAT SYG IS
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NOT TAKING A NEGATIVE POSITION TOWARD NEGOTIATING PROCESS NOW UNDERWAY BUT HAS RATHER JUDGED THAT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR SYG TO PLAY A ROLE WITHOUT CREATING A SITUATION WHICH WOULD HARM THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THEY INTIMATED THAT SYG WOULD APPRECIATE ANYTHING WE MIGHT DO TO GET THIS POINT ACROSS TO THE EGYPTIANS.

5. COMMENT: IN OUR VIEW, GUYER AND URQUHART HAVE SOMEWHAT OVERSTATED THE DANGER OF A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING. WHILE WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT WALDHEIM HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO PRIVATE CRITICISM BY THE SOVIETS AND BY VARIOUS ARABS FOR HIS DECISION TO ALLOW SIILASVUO TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CAIRO TALKS, AT NO TIME HAVE WE HEARD ANY THREAT THAT A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING MIGHT BE CONVENED BECAUSE OF THE CAIRO TALKS OR BECAUSE OF FOLLOW-ON MEETINGS IN JERUSALEM. WALDHEIM CERTAINLY KNOWS THAT IF THE SOVIETS AND RADICAL ARABS ASKED THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO MEET, THEY WOULD BE IN POOR TACTICAL POSITION TO GAIN ASSENT FOR ANY RESOLUTION CRITICAL OF WALDHEIM'S ACTIONS. MOST SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS PROBABLY WOULD BE STRONGLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE SYG'S ROLE, ALTHOUGH THE THREAT OF

A SOVIET VETO WOULD PREVENT SC ACTION IN SUPPORT OF WALDHEIM. WE SUSPECT THAT THE SYG'S REAL DESIRE IS TO AVOID CONTROVERSY AND CRITICISM WHETHER IN THE CONTEXT OF ANY POSSIBLE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING OR PRIVATELY BY THE SOVIETS AND OTHERS. WE BELIEVE HE HAS NOT ADEQUATELY CONSIDERED THE CRITICISM TO WHICH HE AND THE UN MIGHT BE SUBJECTED IF, HAVING ALLOWED

SIILASVUO TO SIT IN ON THE CAIRO TALKS HE THEN TURNS DOWN AN INVITATION TO PLAY A SIMILAR ROLE IN JERUSALEM. THE PRESS WILL QUICKLY NOTE THE UN'S CHANGED ROLE AND WE DOUBT WHETHER THE KIND OF EXPLANATION GUYER AND URQUHART HAVE PUT FORWARD IN PARAS 3 AND 4 ABOVE WILL SATISFY THEM.

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6. FOR USUN: IN LIGHT OF THE ABOVE ANALYSIS, WE WOULD LIKE TO URGE WALDHEIM TO CHANGE HIS POSITION AND PERMIT SIILASVUO TO ATTEND THE JERUSALEM MEETINGS. THEREFORE, AMBASSADOR YOUNG SHOULD SEE URQUHART AND/OR GUYER ASAP TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- THEIR POSITION AS CONVEYED TO SAUNDERS YESTERDAY HAS BEEN CONSIDERED CAREFULLY AND WE ARE VERY MUCH CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMAGE OF THE UN AND OF THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS IF THE UN IS SEEN TO BE DROPPING OUT OF THE CURRENT ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS.

- WE CAN UNDERSTAND WHY THE SYG HIMSELF MIGHT FEEL UNABLE TO PARTICIPATE, BUT WE BELIEVE THAT GENERAL SIILASVUO'S PARTICIPATION COULD BE EXPLAINED NOW THAT THE PRECEDENT OF HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE CAIRO MEETINGS HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. THE JERUSALEM MEETING CAN BE TREATED AS AN EXTENSION OF MEETINGS IN WHICH SIILASVUO HAS ALREADY PARTICIPATED. IN THIS CASE, THE UN IS BEING ASKED TO PARTICIPATE ONLY AS AN OBSERVER, WHICH IS A NON-COMMITAL ROLE.

- ALTHOUGH IT IS FOR SYG TO DETERMINE THE EXTENT OF HIS AUTHORITY IN RELATION TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE LIKELIHOOD OF ADVERSE UNSC ACTION IS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF URQUHART AND GUYER (DRAW ON ARGUMENTS IN PARA 5 ABOVE).

- WE BELIEVE UN'S DROPPING OUT WILL BE A SERIOUS BLOW TO EGYPTIAN EFFORTS TO BROADEN SUPPORT FOR THE HISTORIC PROCESS LAUNCHED BY SADAT'S VISIT TO JERUSALEM AND THE IMPORTANT NEGOTIATIONS WHICH HAVE FOLLOWED.

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PAGE 05 STATE 002076

AN IMPORTANT ISSUE IN THE COMING MEETINGS WILL BE TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE GOING TO PROCEED IN A WAY THAT CAN PRODUCE RESULTS OR ARE GOING TO DETERIORATE INTO IMPASSE. IT IS IMPORTANT TO GIVE THE NEGOTIATING PARTIES A SENSE THAT THEY HAVE THE WORLD'S SUPPORT IN MAKING THE NEGOTIATIONS SUCCEED. FOR THE SYG TO DROP OUT AT THIS POINT COULD CREATE THE IMAGE THAT THERE IS LACK OF FAITH IN THE PROCESS

AND COULD CONTRIBUTE TO CRITICISM AROUND THE ARAB WORLD THAT SADAT'S INITIATIVE HAS PRODUCED ONLY FAILURE. SYG SHOULD CONSIDER THE PUBLIC CRITICISM TO WHICH HE AND THE UN MIGHT BE SUBJECTED IF, HAVING ALLOWED SIILASVUO TO SIT IN ON THE CAIRO TALKS HE THEN TURNS DOWN AN INVITATION TO PLAY AN OBSERVER ROLE IN JERUSALEM. THE PRESS WILL QUICKLY NOTE THE UN'S OBSENCE AND WILL ASK HARD QUESTIONS REGARDING ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

- THEREFORE, WE WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF URQUHART AND GUYER COULD DISCUSS WITH WALDHEIM OUR VIEWS OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF A UN ABSENCE FROM THESE MEETINGS TO SEE WHETHER IT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO CHANGE HIS MIND. IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE IF THIS COULD BE DONE BEFORE CONVEYING A NEGATIVE RESPONSE TO THE EGYPTIANS IF THAT HAS NOT ALREADY BEEN DONE.

8. FOR THE SECRETARY: WE HAVE DECIDED THAT, EVEN THOUGH WE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO TURN WALDHEIM AROUND, WE WILL BE IN A BETTER POSITION WITH THE EGYPTIANS FOR HAVING TRIED THAN IF WE SIMPLY TRY TO EXPLAIN THE UN POSITION TO THEM OR STAND ASIDE. MOREOVER, IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THE UN WILL HARM NOT HELP THE PROCESS BY DROPPING AT THIS POINT, AND WE DO NOT ASSESS THE DANGERS IN NEW YORK AS BEING SO SERIOUS AS THE UN SECRETARIAT SEEMS TO. THE ABOVE APPROACH SEEMS WORTH

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CHRISTOPHER

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SAS ID: 3820921
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PARTICIPATION IN JERUSALEMPOLITICAL COMMITTEE
TAGS: PEPR, PBOR, EG, IS, XF
To: USUN NEW YORK PARIS MULTIPLE
Type: TE
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